Literature Review

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A LITERATURE REVIEW OF
SERVICES TO CHILDREN IN CARE

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this literature review was to offer a comprehensive look at child in care services specifically related to foster and group residential care programs. Specific areas of research, as defined by the contract, represent the following directives:

1. To search other studies/reviews that profile in-care populations and their needs. The researcher will focus on the scope of the study/review, methodology used, outcome and, where feasible, will evaluate the product.

2. To seek assessment and planning instruments or techniques used in other jurisdictions that:

    — set criteria and describe methods of determining short and longer term planning needs
    — outline roles, expectations and interrelationships for the agency, caregiver and parents.

3. To determine standards for in-care services used in other jurisdictions, and examine the methods (including instruments) used to monitor and evaluate the quality of services being provided.

4. To review projects or innovative approaches to recruitment, training, placement selection, support services, types and levels of compensation for caregivers, including, where feasible, an evaluation of the relationship between these components in measuring effectiveness in terms of availability of caregiver resources, turnover and quality of service.

The chapters included in this review have been developed as discrete units. The decision to present the material in this way was based on a number of factors:

1. Potential users of the material would benefit by being able to proceed to the sources most relevant to their particular starting point.

2. Although the materials, in some ways, are easily sorted into such starting points, they are in no way exclusive. A section on foster care, for example, is an obvious division and yet anyone interested in foster care would need to be aware of theoretical perspectives more logically presented in a section devoted to permanency planning. By developing the separate units, each complete with theoretical as well as practical components, the danger of crucial themes being overlooked because of a particular focus is avoided.

3. Repetition of themes, from various starting points, should highlight them and thus provoke the thoughtful consideration that we feel essential to any review concerned with the provision of services to children and families.

Within each chapter, the materials are presented in sub-headings which include a discussion and listing of the most relevant titles. Appendix I presents the entire listing of titles cited; Appendix II presents a listing of A-V materials which might be useful for a variety of training purposes.

A literature review that is intended to focus on services to children provided by a public service agency inevitably entails a thorough investigation of a variety of themes. These themes are presented in each of the following chapters from a number of perspectives. We felt, though, that a reader intending to go immediately to one chapter or another, would best do so after first reading a synthesis of the theories that have, in the last twenty years, informed most of the bases for policy making in the child welfare field.

Essentially, there have been three perspectives which have been widely accepted and which therefore have had (or are having) a profound impact. Most of the programs currently in use in the child welfare field, whether they relate to foster parent training, abuse investigations or any number of other areas, are premised on the acceptance of one or the other of these theories. Such programs can only be properly understood and evaluated within these theoretical contexts.

1. Psychological Parenting

In 1973, with the publication of a small book entitled **Beyond the Best Interests of the Child**, a new theory, which was to have an unforeseen impact on the child welfare field, was born. This theory is that of "psychological parenting." Essentially, it argues that every child, regardless of his or her status, needs to have a psychological bond with an adult parent, a bond based on "day-to-day interaction, companionship and shared experiences." The ideal parent for this role is the natural parent; however, the authors who framed this theory were careful to point out that:

> The role can be fulfilled either by a biological parent or by an adoptive parent or by any other caring adult - but never by an absent, inactive adult, whatever his biological or legal relationship to the child may be. (Goldstein, Freud and Solnit, 1973, 19)

These authors went on to say that "temporary parents" cannot develop the necessary psychological bond with children in their care because of the "impermanency" of most foster/child relationships, an impermanency which clashes with the child's need for emotional constancy and which warns the adult to avoid deep emotional commitment. Consequently, permanent plans for the welfare of each child needed to be made as soon as possible so as to avoid "drift" in a series of unfulfilling temporary fostering situations.

Child welfare agencies, of course, were well aware of the child's need for stable, caring families. The 1950s and 60s had seen a growing move away from the traditional "orphanage" and other institutional types of care. However, the missing component was a legal status for the child that empowered the child welfare agency to make long-range plans that precluded the usual series of temporary foster care arrangements that Goldstein, Freud and Solnit found so damaging. The authors of the psychological parenting theory were well aware of this missing component and thus their volume focused on:

> ... the development of guidelines to decisionmaking in law concerned with the selection and manipulation of a child's external environment as a means of improving and nourishing his internal environment. (Goldstein, Freud and Solnit, 1973, 7)

2. Permanency Planning

The widespread acceptance of the psychological parenting theory by those agencies responsible for caring for children had a number of implications for policy planners. If leading experts on the mental health of children were stressing the importance of a permanent bond for every child, then agency practice would have to develop in such a way as to facilitate the development of such bonds. "Drift" in foster care could no longer be tolerated. The response, which was quickly translated into policy and statute, was "permanency planning." In essence, permanency planning rests on the belief that all children who come into care must immediately have a permanent plan made for the duration of their childhood years. Assessment of the likelihood of the child returning to the care of the natural parents is the first priority. If it is apparent that such a return is unlikely, then it is the duty of the agency involved to make an alternative arrangement that will place the child in a permanent situation that will facilitate the desirable bonding advocated by the psychological parenting theorists.

Translated into policy, the permanency planning direction of most child welfare services has had a number of consequences. Foster parents and adopting parents have gained new rights; case reviews and tracking systems have become more rigorous; training packages for the new substitute parents to whom children will bond have been developed; deinstitutionalization is now seen as a desirable goal and consequently special needs children (the physically and mentally handicapped) are more frequently placed in special homes, with foster parents trained to meet their unique needs; foster parents have become more articulate and new associations have been formed to play both an advocacy and educational role.

The many programs developed during the 1970s and early 1980s under the aegis of permanency planning are discussed later in this review under a variety of themes. Since permanency planning and psychological parenting are still widely accepted as the bases on which child welfare policy is structured, these programs are in widespread use and continue to be developed to meet the needs of children in a variety of situations.

Unfortunately, a number of unforeseen consequences of permanency planning have emerged and the pendulum is now beginning to swing in a different direction. Increased attention is being drawn to a variety of abuses. More and more authors are pointing out that, even where a strong bond develops between the new parent and the child given into his or her care, there is still a need for that child to resolve his or her relationship with the natural parents. Adoption, which was seen in the past as a necessary solution in many cases, is now viewed with scepticism, especially where cross-racial adoptions have occurred. Natural parents are stepping foward to complain about the loss of their rights. An increasing number of scholars are suggesting that poor, mentally ill, and lower status parents have been especially victimized in a process that is designed for immediate decisions for the benefit of the child - a process that all too frequently abrogates the rights of the natural parents whose capacities to care for the child, not infrequently, dramatically change over time.

3. Ecological Perspective

With the recognition of some of the dangers of permanency planning has come an entirely new focus for child welfare agencies. If the child must resolve the relationship with the natural parents, then work with those parents becomes imperative. There is a new interest therefore in developing contracts with natural parents and an added emphasis on parental visiting. If visits are to be beneficial to the child, then the visit itself must be a positive experience. To encourage this more time is spent with the parent. The child welfare agency increasingly moves into a family support role and the way is thus paved for more work with the natural family. With such work, the health of the family improves and children are much more likely to be able to return to that family. Prevention receives more attention and foster parents are increasingly viewed as temporary care givers who can serve as role models for natural parents and facilitators in a process which has as its ultimate goal that of returning the healthy child to a healthy biological family.

The extended family is also receiving more attention. This is especially true in native and other ethnic minority groupings, where it has been clearly demonstrated that recognition of extended kinship ties is crucial to the health of the child. A factor also receiving increased attention is the violation of cultural rights - in some ethnic groupings, the loss of a child is a collective loss and the rights of more than just the natural parents have been violated.

There is also increased recognition of the fact that a "bonding" situation is not a likely alternative for many children, especially adolescents who tend to remain loyal to their natural family and resist efforts by foster parents to create a family structure that requires a closeness in which they are unwilling to share. For such children, ties with the natural family are imperative and once again the suggestion is that the child welfare worker move into the role of family support worker.

Another component of the ecological perspective suggests that a major restructuring of all of society is in order. Prevention is the only cure and consequently an entire spectrum of economic and social inequalities must be remedied if families are to remain healthy. The argument is that a disproportionate number of the children of the economically weak come into care. If society's benefits were distributed more equitably, then there wouldn't be poverty and its attendant crises. Unemployment and underemployment clearly impact on the health of the family and the numbers of crises to which its children are subjected, which impinges on whether to bring them into care and for how long.

Permanency planning is a practice framework which Maluccio and Fein (1983, 197) describe as

> ... the systematic process of carrying out, within a brief time-limited period, a set of goal-directed activities designed to help children live in families that offer continuity of relationships with nurturing parents or caretakers and the opportunity to establish life-time relationships.

It is probably the single most important movement in child welfare and has therefore had a number of ramifications.

It focuses on prompt decision-making and consequently has had an impact on assessment methods, intake procedures, case reviews and a variety of administrative tracking systems. It focuses on continuity and permanency and has thus encouraged the development of rights for foster parents (and indirectly more frequent abrogation of parental rights) and new legal processes which respond more quickly to the need to clarify the long term status of the child. It focuses on the child's need for nurturing relationships and thereby has encouraged deinstitutionalization and the development of therapeutic foster homes. It focuses on a team approach to service delivery, with resulting collaboration between judges, lawyers, foster parents and child welfare personnel working with either the children or their parents.

General Themes

Permanency planning has received a great deal of attention in the literature reviewed for this study. Wiltse (1985), Maluccio and Fein (1983), Pike (1981), and Stein and Gambrill (1985) are particularly good in the American literature. Most of this literature would agree with the Maluccio and Fein definition already cited and with their framework for permanency planning (197-198) which embodies the following key components:

> Values and Theory The permanency planning movement is based on various premises, particularly the value of rearing children in a family setting, the primacy of parent-child attachment, and the significance of the biological family in human connectedness.
>
> Program Permanency planning embodies a distinctive service delivery program focusing on systematic, goal-directed planning within specified time frames for children placed (or at risk of placement) in foster care.
>
> Methods Inherent in permanency planning programs are techniques or case management methods emphasizing specific practice strategies, such as contracts or service agreements with parents, time deadlines for goal-directed activities by parents and social workers, and record-keeping to structure and reinforce decision-making procedures.
>
> Collaboration A final feature of the framework for permanency planning is collaboration among various individuals, disciplines and organizations.

This rather lengthy quote was chosen as the best summary of the major aspects of permanency planning as it should be. A careful reading should make it clear that permanency planning **is not really a program for children already in foster care**, although it was originally linked to finding homes for children drifting in unplanned placements. Properly interpreted, it prevents entry into care and incorporates principles of rigorous assessment and support services. Foster care is a temporary alternative only for children of families for whom preventive services don't work. Once in care the primary goal should be reunification with families or permanent plans that ideally lead to adoption. Downs (1981) argues that "permanency is just good casework," but a number of authors (for example, Fanshel and Shinn, 1978) suggest that prevention and restoration are not receiving enough attention; indeed, Stein and Gambrill (1985, 91) even argue that "the evidence showing the lack of services to biological parents and the drift of children in unplanned care does not support the suggestion that the methods of permanency planning reflect normative practice approaches." Wiltse (1985, 260) suggests that "if parental rights to their children are being terminated either because of a cavalier attitude toward those rights, an over-zealous pursuit of permanency-planning goals, or a lack of effective family maintenance and restoration services," there is cause for serious concern. Given that poor families represent "a disproportionately high percentage" (Martin, 1985, 55) of the families which become involved in the child welfare system, Wiltse's concern is worth highlighting.

Despite the prevalence of permanency planning philosophy permeating the child welfare literature, Robinson (1985, 165) suggests that permanency planning is not really a matter of provincial or national policy in Canada, either as an accepted philosophy or as a practice framework with adequate financial resources committed to staffing, services and support.

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Review of Projects

There have been a number of projects which have had as their goal that of moving children out of foster care and into permanent homes. One of the earliest was the Children Adrift in Foster Care project undertaken in 1971 at the Rhode Island Department of Social and Rehabilitative Services. A relationship was found between successful family reunification and the intensive and extensive case planning implemented by the team. The various services introduced are best described by Sherman, Neuman and Shyne (1973), although Rzepnicki and Stein (1985) also provide a useful overview.

A second project, the Preventive Services Demonstration Project, also demonstrated that a greater percentage of children were able to return to their own home with project services than with regular agency services. These project services are described most completely by Jones, Neuman and Shyne (1976), although Rzepnicki and Stein's (1985) overview is also helpful. As well, the preventive components of the program are reviewed separately by Stein (1985).

A third project, the Oregon Project, has been very widely disseminated and cited. Two major reports about this project (Downs et al, 1981, and Emlen et al, 1977) should be reviewed for further detail, although Rzepnicki and Stein (1985, 102) present a useful summary which points out that in this project, according to their apparently fairly subjective assessment, "90% of the permanent placements were stable, with return to the biological family being the least stable arrangement." Pike (1981) also provides a useful description. The wide dissemination occurred because the United States Children Bureau funded a four-year project that had such wide circulation as one of its goals. Forty-three states had varying degrees of involvement, described in detail by Downs et al (1981).

A project conducted in New Westminster, British Columbia, was conceptually based on the Oregon Project and is described by McParland (1979). Robinson (1985) suggests that this small pilot project grew into a region-wide approach to planning and was later replicated in other parts of the province. She (164) points out, though, that "neither permanent planning as a concept nor the use of it to influence legislation, policy, programme, and practice has been a fact in British Columbia or Canada generally."

A fourth project, the Alameda Project, also demonstrated that experimental services introduced during the study were more successful in achieving permanent placements for children than were regular agency practices. Stein, Gambrill and Wiltse (1978) provide a thorough description of the experimental services and outline the project results. Rzepnicki and Stein (1985) include this project in their overview and point out that its procedures have been well documented and made available in the form of training manuals (for example, Gambrill and Stein, 1983; Stein and Gambrill, 1976).

Fein and Maluccio (1984) and Fein et al (1983) describe the DCYS Project conducted by the Connecticut Department of Children and Youth Services, a longitudinal study of the outcomes of permanency planning. Fein and Maluccio (1984, 425) claim that results from this study show

> ... that over half the children returned to their biological parents, that adoptions were more common for Caucasian than black children, that 78% of the children were still in their permanent placements 12-16 months later, that most children were functioning well, and that there was a marked need for services for the families.

Sawyer (1981) describes a project in Stearns County, Minnesota, which included a strong adolescent services component that might be worth further investigation.

The Canadian literature on permanency planning projects is disappointingly meagre. The New Westminster project has already been mentioned. The 1978 report of the Canadian Council on Children and Youth, **Admittance Restricted**, is worthy of review, but it merely documents an already recognized failure of service and does not describe in any detail programs in place. Similarly, **One Million Children - the CELDIC Report** (1969), highlights needs but not responses to those needs.

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Legal Issues

The ramifications for the courts of the acceptance of permanency planning have been immense, since the focus of the permanency concept rests on clarity of the status of the child. Statutory reform has occurred on a number of levels and court decisions have forced agencies to recognize rights of parents, children and foster parents and to provide basic due process protections during the placement process. Allen and Golubock (1985) provide a very thorough discussion of this emerging legal framework in the United States.

The literature reflects a growing concern that courts too frequently terminate the rights of natural parents and that the checks and balances present in other state interventions are not present in the child welfare system. Guggenheim (1983-84), Davis (1983-84) and Taub (1983-84) present some of the more current concerns. Mnookin (1981, 193) raises some interesting questions about discretion, suggesting that existing legal standards call for "individualized determinations" based on discretionary assessments that cannot be consistent or fair. He disputes the conventional interpretation of the "best interests of the child" standard usually employed by courts and outlines his reasons (262-211) in some detail, pointing out that this test completely ignores the interests of the parents, places the judge in the position of making assessments without all of the necessary information, allows the judge "to import his personal values into the process" and makes it too easy for him "to ignore the possible detrimental effects of removing a child from parental custody."

Findling (1978) has written an interesting manual for training foster parents about the legal aspects of fostering that is indicative of a growing interest in the legal rights and responsibilities of foster parents. Indeed, it would not be unrealistic to predict increasing numbers of disputes about the ownership of children. Gross (1984) describes custody conflicts between foster and birth parents in Pennsylvania. Allen and Golubock point out that agencies and individual workers might become involved in litigation for failing to put the principles of permanency planning into practice. Indeed, a recent publication of the American Humane Association (Holder and Hayes, 1984) outlines clearly a growing need for accountability at all levels of child protection work in an examination of the most critical malpractice issues currently facing child welfare professionals. Clearly the pendulum is swinging back and forth on this matter with it being somewhere near its mid cycle at present but still moving more towards the parental rights position than it has in the past.

There is an increasing amount of Canadian literature. Turner and Shields (1985) provide a useful description of the legal process of bringing children into care in British Columbia and Falconer and Swift (1983) describe the court process in Ontario. Bala, Lilles and Thomson (1982) describe some of the legal problems faced by children in Canadian society. Part I of their book deals with child welfare legislation and a central theme of their review is that "there is an inevitable tension between the rights and interests of a child, his parents and the State." An entire chapter is devoted to adoption; others include "The Protection Problem," "Initiating the Protection Hearing," etcetera. Callahan (1985) has written a thorough review of provincial child welfare legislation and incorporates with it an interesting discussion of C.A.P. and Robertshaw (1980) has prepared a valuable summary of legislative issues as they relate to child abuse. Another useful summary is provided in Volume I of the **Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths** (1984, 291-299). The **Fifth Report** of the Berger Commission should also be reviewed, as well as Cruickshank's (1985) discussion of the impact of Part V, "The Protection of Children." Also worth looking at is Besharov's (1985) collection of papers produced by Osgoode Hall Law School students enrolled in a seminar on "Child Protection and the Law."

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Keeping Track of Children

Over the last several years a number of authors have turned their attention to the administrative "filing systems" that track the movements of children in and out of care and through their various placements. Implicit in this is a belief that case reviews are a necessary and important component of child welfare services, although Claburn and Magura (1978) suggest that they might not make that much difference. Much of the impetus for more methodical case review systems came from the American Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act of 1980 and these systems, in most instances, involve assessing case plans that include "goals, time-frames, needs and services to ensure that dependent children receive quality care and permanent placement" (Leashore, 1986, 26). The provision of services, to both foster and biological parents, is also monitored.

Theoretically, case plans are developed in a written format, updated by child welfare workers and reviewed at least every six months. The review methods vary - court, administrative or citizen reviews being the most common. Hardin (1985) has written an interesting comparison of these three types of review. Leashore (1986) describes an administrative review procedure used in the District of Columbia that includes independent, agency-contracted professionals as reviewers.

There are a wide variety of classification systems. Faller describes a system developed by the University of Michigan's Interdisciplinary Project on Child Abuse and Neglect (1984) that classifies cases by differential uses of intervention resources (i.e. families that will not respond to intervention, families that will only respond to intensive and extensive services, families that will respond to intervention and families that do not require intervention). Fanshel (1982) describes three related "mini-projects" carried out in New York City between 1976-1977 in which he performed a field trial of new data modules designed to build upon a management information system already in place in New York City, the Child Welfare Information Services. As well, all of the permanency planning projects described earlier in this chapter developed case monitoring systems which are described in the reports already cited.

Schwab, Bruce and McRoy (1983) move a step further than most of the literature we examined and suggest that children can be "profiled" according to a number of variables and then placed, as children with similar profiles have been successfully placed before. A computerized model was developed to explore the possibilities offered by replicating placement patterns, on the theory that placement decisions would be more easily and accurately made by child welfare practitioners. This "decision support system" would be used as a resource and would not supercede the worker's authority or responsibility (132). Other such decision support systems are described in a later chapter of this review.

Claburn and Magura (1978) raise an interesting question about case review, suggesting that review is not a substitute for more direct approaches. Counting placements is not as productive as preventing placements and they would argue (35) that more direct approaches would include

> ... increasing staff, supporting the professionalization of staff through education and training, expanding the availability of subsidized adoption, reducing legal constraints to facilitate adoption, and providing intensive services to biological parents.

An interesting project is in the preliminary planning stage in Canada. Marilyn Callahan and Brian Wharf of the University of Victoria have recently circulated a draft data base system to child welfare researchers as an initial step in implementing a national system as well as a national research project based on the data, which would be published annually. Their intent is to develop a "national group willing to undertake an interprovincial longitudinal study in child welfare." The School of Social Work (1986) at the University of Manitoba has prepared a paper describing this proposed "National Research Consortium on Child Welfare Policy" and interested researchers have begun meeting.

There is little other Canadian material specific to case monitoring. Falconer and Swift (1983) include some suggestions for social workers and McParland's report (1979) of the New Westminster study is somewhat helpful. Other projects are described more fully in a later chapter of this review.

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Outcomes

The results of permanency planning are addressed from two perspectives in the literature. The first relates to recidivism (i.e. the return of children to care after discharge). Although, as Block and Libowitz (1983) suggest, the child welfare field "whispers about the 'revolving door' of foster care," little substantive work has been done in this area. Their study is one of the most meticulous of those studies examined and their findings are similar to some of the other major studies. They agree with Fanshel and Shinn (1978) that children who returned to care after permanency plans had been implemented had had a greater number of placements and with Shinn (1972) and Lahti et al (1978) that they had been in care longer than non-recidivists. They do not agree with Sherman, Newman and Shyne (1973), however, that children discharged to two parent families recidivate more frequently. Planned discharges had less recidivism than unplanned discharge.

Block and Libowitz (1983, 77) found that "the receipt of after-care services among planned discharges reduced recidivism only when the services were received by the child," whereas for children withdrawn from care, the receipt of after-care services regardless of who in the family received services, reduced recidivism. Turner (1984), in a study of 100 children in Virginia, found similar results, and stated (504) that "recidivist cases were those families with the greatest number of problems receiving the shortest duration of DSS case management while the children were in care and the least DSS services following the children's return home." Turner would agree with what Block and Libowitz describe (79) as a major finding of their study: "when the family's ability to care for the child was poor, reunification with the problem child appeared to result in a degeneration of the family functioning and subsequent recidivism of the child."

A study conducted by Fein and Maluccio (1984) of 187 children in Connecticut also stressed the importance of after-care services. In their study parents or caretakers were interviewed at three points of time; over two-thirds expressed a need for medical, dental and recreational services, 61 percent for special educational services, approximately one-third for financial assistance, employment counselling or training, and housing (42 percent). A very thorough description of this study was done as a special issue of **Child Welfare** (Fein et al, 1983) and should be read carefully.

The second perspective on the outcomes of permanency planning relates to children discharged from care because of maturity. The question addressed in this literature concerns how well children raised in permanent foster care function as adults. A number of studies have been conducted, including two significant ones outside of North America which are worth consideration. Kraus (1981) describes a 10-year follow-up of children discharged from care on their eighteenth birthday in New South Wales, Australia. His focus was on adult delinquency and his results showed that there is a correlation between later convictions and the number of placements but not between convictions and the length of time in care. Triseliotis (1980) describes a British study of forty young people born in 1956/57 who spent from 7-15 years in one foster home before the age of 16. When interviewed, they were 20-21 years of age. He describes very thoroughly their current social and personal circumstances and the relationships they had with their foster families. The foster parents were also interviewed. In the report which we reviewed there was little empirical data presented, although Triseliotis did outline some of the general observations.

Maluccio and Fein (1985) review twelve separate studies that have been done on the impact of growing up in foster care and conclude that, despite current opinion, foster care placement does not have an adverse impact on children. "Researchers have consistently reported that foster care graduates function well or that no negative effects on the child's adjustment can be detected." They do strongly recommend, as did Turner (1984), that a "continuum of care is needed to prepare youths for self-dependence" (132) and outline several models for moving into independent living. These models are reviewed in a later chapter of this report.

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FOSTER CARE

The role of the foster parent in child welfare has been receiving increasing attention in the literature. Rowe (1980) suggests that a wide variety of new fostering schemes are emerging, many of them with a particular emphasis on services for children with physical or mental handicaps and for difficult and disturbed adolescents. She describes, too, a definite growth of interest in foster parent training and all of the literature reviewed by these authors supports her suggestion that group methods of selection and support are also receiving greater attention. The creation and growth of Foster Parent Associations might be viewed as an encouraging sign; such associations suggest a new and revitalized interest and themselves promise to be the impetus for change and development. The increased recognition of the legal rights of foster parents as well as acceptance of their growing role in the permanency planning process has led to renewed professional interest in fostering standards and indeed presents a challenge to the entire question of decision-making for children in care.

Rowe (1980, 56) suggests that the current emphasis on fostering is also due to a "general swing toward seeking community-based solutions to social problems." This swing is being intensified by the spiralling costs of residential provision and by general restraint policies impacting on all social service provision. Good, professional foster care services are not particularly cheap; however, even when realistically costed, they are virtually always less expensive than residential care and likely therefore to be a preferred alternative, at least from a cost-efficiency perspective.

The growing recognition of the importance of biological parents to the well-being of the child has also had a number of effects on current thinking about fostering. Hence, there is a developing interest in using foster parents as role models or family workers and consequent discussions (reflected in the literature) about professionalism, team approaches and partnerships. As well, there are new challenges to the traditional view of fostering, with an increasing number of authors questioning the validity of the entire concept and promoting instead family focused models of care provision that would never or seldom see a child removed from parental custody.

General Themes

A number of authors reviewed for this study have provided good general discussion of the themes currently informing the foster care literature. Bryant (1981) provides a thorough history of foster care and of the development of special foster care in a piece that is the most well-written, comprehensive and thoughtful of anything examined. Rowe (1980) is particularly good and Holman (1980) provides a very useful discussion of **exclusive** and **inclusive** fostering as debated in the British literature. Exclusive fostering "attempts to contain the foster child within the foster family while excluding other connections" (75) - i.e., the foster parents see themselves as the parents, would prefer to exclude the natural parents, and frequently have hostile opinions about the natural parents. Security and continuity for the child are foremost; the child is sheltered from his or her natural parents and even the social worker should be kept at a distance.

Holman (1980, 76-77) goes on to suggest that inclusive fostering contrasts sharply with this concept in that it is "based on a readiness to draw the various components into the fostering situation." The child's need to obtain a real sense of present identity and past history within a framework of affection is foremost; hence, the natural parents and the social worker have important roles to play and the foster parents are more willing to share the child.

In the American literature, **psychological parenting** is the term most frequently used to rationalize the exclusive concept of fostering. Since the 1973 publication of **Beyond the Best Interests of the Child** the importance of the psychological parenting bond in the psychoanalytic framework propounded by Goldstein, Freud and Solnit has been widely accepted. This theory argues against state intervention in that it focuses on a child's primary attachment to a psychological parent and suggests that a child's developmental needs are best served if this attachment isn't tampered with. However, if the bond is broken, these authors advocate permanent placement with new psychological parents. The new parents, if fostering or adopting, **replace** the natural parents and theoretically provide security, continuity and protection **despite** the natural parents. Taub's (1983-84) article provides an excellent overview of the impact of this theory and the work of Fanshel (1983-84) in the permanency planning literature should also be reviewed, since he eloquently challenges the exclusive fostering concept.

In the Canadian literature, Hepworth (1980) provides the best general overview of current themes in a 1980 publication entitled **Foster Care and Adoption in Canada.** He highlights three challenges to be addressed in the Canadian foster care field: (1) there is an obvious shortage of foster homes, so much so that adequate choices and appropriate placements are difficult to attain; (2) there is a new emphasis on short-term, temporary placements to meet emergency needs and this places special demands on foster parents; (3) there is an acute need to expand the number and range of foster home resources for older and special needs children. These "challenges" to the system are also addressed by Levitt and Wharf (1985) and in many of the other titles which provide general overviews of fostering.

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Foster Parent Recruitment

Recruiting suitable foster parents has long presented a challenge to child welfare agencies. Historically, this challenge has been met with recruitment efforts which have focused on a theme that can best be summarized as "please open your home and your heart;" the clear message presented to prospective foster parents was that love is the only criterion for successful fostering. This message is still conveyed in many modern-day recruiting projects which focus on selling the child rather than the job; most of us are no doubt familiar with newspaper columns or posters which introduce a particular child in the hopes of attracting suitable foster or adoptive parents. Although the children selected for such efforts are no longer angelically fair two-year-old waifs, such ads do present certain problems. They are attractive to those who want or need to "rescue" children, but such people, despite good intentions, are not always able to accept the child's background and already existing family, let alone problems these children may present.

Pasztor (1985, 195) suggests that new strategies are needed because of three important factors:

> First, there is a need for more foster parents who can work collegially with an agency to implement permanency planning outcomes. Second, there is a need for a more positive image of foster care and foster parenting .... Third, changing societal trends are decreasing the supply of potential foster families.

These factors cannot be dismissed by those concerned with foster parent recruitment. One model which addresses them and which seems to be in fairly wide-spread use is the Nova model, developed at the Nova University Behavioral Sciences Center in their Foster Parent Project (Pasztor, 1985 and Pasztor and Burgess, 1982a, 1982b). Pasztor (1985, 193) reports that the project's goal "... was to develop a model for foster family recruitment, selection, training and retention that could be replicated by large, small, urban and rural agencies." This model has been developed and disseminated over the last 8 years to approximately 5000 administrators, caseworkers, foster parents, supervisors and child welfare advocates primarily in the United States but also in Canada.

Essentially, the Nova model, assuming a very real need to view foster parents as part of a permanency planning team, uses the approach of "selling the job," not the child. The "job," of course, must be clearly defined (still a problem in many instances) before it can be sold. However, in those jurisdictions where the job has received adequate definition, a number of successful modifications of the Nova model have been implemented (Pasztor, 1985). The Nova model stresses four important factors: recruitment begins with community education; recruitment efforts must be continuous; recruitment efforts must be multifaceted; and community involvement is critical (Pasztor and Burgess, 1982b). A recruitment manual developed by the project describes a variety of ways to address these factors (Pasztor and Burgess, 1982a).

Actually, there was surprisingly little reference to foster parent recruitment in the literature. An assumption that foster parents can successfuly recruit more foster parents was tested by Valluzzo (1985) and one or two other studies (for example, Coyne, 1978 and Bohman, 1975) looked at the several problems associated with finding foster parents for children with special needs. A number of articles which came to our attention discussed the recruitment of adoptive parents; although the techniques (and problems) are similar, we did not review these materials.

The Canadian literature is again limited. Pedosuk and Ratcliffe (1979) describe an approach to recruitment that used foster parents in a number of ways. The B.C. Federation of Foster Parent Associations was actively involved and remains active in the development of training materials (described later). Rosenblum (1977) describes a research project that had, as one of its research objectives, "learning what factors lead foster parents to begin fostering" (Rosenblum, 1980, 4). The scarcity of Canadian resources suggests that the difficulties associated with foster parent recruitment have not been adequately addressed at this point and serves to highlight Hepworth's (1980) concern about acute shortages.

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Selection and Evaluation of Foster Parents

Several of the authors reviewed for this section of the report (for example, Touliatos and Lindholm, 1981; Jordan and Rodway, 1984) make reference to a long-standing concern in the child welfare field about the "how-to's" of foster parent selection. They also bemoan the fact that very little attention has been given to the development of foster parent selection criteria. Touliatos and Lindholm (1981, 255) describe a study, the purpose of which was "to construct a scale designed to express, quantify and summarize evaluations by caseworkers of applicants for foster parenthood." The final form, the Potential for Foster Parenthood Scale, includes 54 items, organized into 9 factors. Their report is very thorough and describes a process that included in its initial design a 64-item scale based on the Child Welfare League of America's **Standards for Foster Family Service** (1975).

Two other studies, one by Jordan and Rodway (1984) and the other by Sanderson and Crawley (1982) describe the use of already existing scales to determine suitability. The former describes the use of the Heimler Scale of Social Functioning to determine which of 164 subjects were more or less-effective foster parents. This exploratory study was conducted in Calgary and the authors report (29) that the findings "support the hypothesis that the HSSF has the ability to discriminate between more-effective and less-effective foster parents," presuming, of course, that this measure is a valid indicator of effectiveness in foster parenting.

The latter describes the use of Holland's Vocational Orientation Scale with men and women representing 32 family-care homes for mentally retarded or developmentally disabled children in a small county in upstate New York. The authors of this study suggest that their results showed that the scale could be used effectively to predict which caretakers could be expected to be successful or unsuccessful. It was found that the more successful caretakers were generally older and active in the Protestant churches.

The Nova study described earlier included a strong selection component. This component is designed to change the home study process from earlier processes which, according to Pasztor (1985, 197), "placed foster parents in a client role," by implying that they needed to be evaluated, investigated, "screened" or "weeded out." Instead, the Nova model uses what Pasztor describes (197) as a "more positive approach based on shared decision-making, problem-solving, and mutual selection, all of which are integral to building mutual trust and teamwork." Included in the model is an orientation meeting and then six sessions which combine the home study process with preservice training. The prospective foster parents are guided to self-assessment and are also assessed by the group leaders. They write most of their own home studies. Pasztor goes on to describe a number of successful applications of the model: Florida Department of Health and Rehabilitative Services (see Simon and Simon, 1982, for a more complete description); Texas Department of Human Resources (Springer and Newman, 1983); Oklahoma Department of Human Services. A training manual (Pasztor, 1983) is available.

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Foster Parent Training

Foster parent training has been, for a number of reasons, associated with favourable outcomes for parents and children (Hampson, Schulte and Ricks, 1983, 192). Obvious benefits are more successful placements, more successful foster parents, and more skills for relating to all types of foster children. These benefits are significant since they reduce the likelihood of multiple placements for children. As well, all of the literature reviewed suggests that the foster parent is increasingly being viewed as a professional or quasi-professional member of a permanency planning team and consequently has the potential of being a major factor in achieving the ultimate goal of permanency planning - reunification with the natural family.

As part of this review we have examined two sets of training manuals. The first of these is the series developed by the Foster Parent Training Program at Eastern Michigan University through 1977-1984. All of the manuals in this series stress that "the foster parent is the direct service provider to the child, a member of the team, rather than a quasi-client" (for example, Veresh, 1978, 11). As such, he or she works with, not for, caseworkers, natural parents and other professional helpers and plays a key role in the decision-making activities related to the child or children. In the training packages, the foster parent is viewed as an adult professional and all of the manuals stress that instructors should work in a learning framework that encourages adult learning through group discussion. The manuals are complementary, in that some build on each other and can be combined in various packages. They are also current, in that they reflect recent concern about discipline, appropriate sexual behaviour, the unique needs of certain children (including adolescents), and the changing legal aspects of fostering. It is claimed that they have been successfully used in a variety of settings and formats.

The second set of manuals reviewed is one developed by the British Columbia Federation of Foster Parent Associations as part of a major demonstration project being funded by Health and Welfare Canada. The "Foster Care Training Project: A Comprehensive Approach" has a number of objectives (BCFFPA, "Networking Strategy," 1) which includes the following:

i. to determine communication networks in local fostering communities by uncovering and expanding them,

ii. to encourage the team approach to fostering by facilitating the development of a collaborative relationship between foster parents and social workers,

iii. to refine knowledge and skills of those working with foster children by providing a series of training modules.

To date, eight manuals have been published, all based on a needs survey which profiled eight critical foster parenting skills; each of these skills constitutes a training module written by the Project Officer after a consultative process.

The modules are designed for delivery by local teams made up of a foster parent and a social worker. They are meant to enhance the team approach to foster care by refining skills and altering the communication structure. Foster parents are being interviewed and re-interviewed as part of the data-gathering activity which began in 1985. This is a major project; of the volumes published to date, one is bibliographical and the others address profiled skills.

The BCFFPA has also played a major role in the development of several video series, including "Guiding the Sexual Development of Your Child," "Drugs, Your Child and You," "Responding to Problem Behaviours of Foster Children," and "Conversations with Foster Parents." A full listing of these films is included in the Appendices with the other audio-visual listings.

We are aware of several other sets of training manuals for foster parents which we did not examine for this study because of time and financial constraints. The 4-volume Training Program for Children's Aid Societies developed in Ontario should be consulted; others are listed in the References section of this chapter.

There is a fairly extensive literature on the "how-to's" of foster parent training. The manuals we examined used an adult education, group discussion model; however, several authors including Gross, Shuman and Magid (1978), Hampson, Schulte and Ricks (1983) and Buster, Ward and Varner (1982), describe other education models. Buster and Noble (1981) describe the University of South Carolina's Foster Parent Training Curriculum. As well, there are a number of descriptive articles about various training programs which have been implemented with varying degrees of success; several of these have had evaluative components included in the design. The Nova model (Pasztor, 1985) has already been mentioned; Guerney and Wolfgang (1981) describe a Foster Parent Skills Training Program developed in Pennsylvania and Rinn, Markle and Wise (1981) describe Positive Parent Training used in Alabama. Runyan and Fullerton (1981) describe Oregon's Foster Parent Training Program; and also provide a very useful summary of the theoretical perspectives informing the current literature about foster parent training. This summary complements Wiehe (1977) who touches on a number of these perspectives in his discussion of the value of training for foster parents.

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Working With the Family

Almost all of the recruitment and training literature described earlier in this chapter highlights what is emerging as the most important role of the foster care provider - that of functioning as a team member whose goal is the ultimate reunification of the child with the natural family. The implications of this new focus are far-reaching, since they impact not only on the child but also on the family, the community and the social work profession.

If reunification is the ultimate goal, it becomes fairly obvious that parental visiting of children in care is of great importance and that foster parents need not only to recognize the value of such visits but also to actively assist in making them as successful as possible. The work of Fanshel (1981; Fanshel and Shinn, 1978) has conclusively proven that one of the keys to discharge is successful parental visiting. Indeed, Fanshel (1981, 298) argues that visitation is so crucial that the numbers of parental visits should be logged as indicators of the health of the child in the system, "like the frequent monitoring of body temperature information for assessing the health of patients in hospitals." His 1982 study outlines several systems developed for keeping the kind of "log" he advocates, with procedures described for keeping track of both the quantity and quality of parental visits.

Fanshel is not the only author interested in the quality of parental visiting. That his theories have been widely accepted is reflected in the wide body of material (for example, Gambrill and Stein, 1985; Kufeldt, 1982; Maluccio, 1981a and 1981b; Tiddy, 1986) which describes the various ways to work with parents whose children are in care. All of these methods are meant to encourage successful visits and eventual reunification.

Gambrill and Stein (1985) outline a number of what they describe as "important procedural ingredients" for working with natural parents. Many of the ingredients included in their outline relate to service objectives for the social worker, but clearly have a number of implications for the care provider. Similarly, Maluccio (1981a; 1981b) develops a series of practice guidelines based on what he calls (1981b, 5) "the emerging focus on parents of children in placement."

The foster care provider needs special training to cope with the complexities of working with the natural family. Traditionally, foster parent training has focused on skills specific to relating to the child; however, two recent training volumes (McFadden, 1980; BCFFPA, 1985) indicate that this focus is changing and that additional skills are needed if the foster parent is to be an effective member of the team.

Another emerging trend is that of using foster parents as role models for natural parents or, in some cases, as "shared parents." Nayman and Witkin (1978) and Gabinet (1983) describe two ways in which such a service could be provided to abusive families and Davies and Bland (1981) describe a similar service to families of emotionally disturbed children. The benefits are obvious, since the child maintains continuity with the natural family while that family receives the relief from stress which is often an important ingredient of successful treatment. Many of the programs described in the next chapter of this review reflect certain aspects of the "shared parenting" model and should be consulted.

One last factor in work with the natural family relates to the child and his/her potential role on the "team." That children, especially adolescents, have their own viewpoints about how their lives should be ordered is obvious. Some authors do recognize this (for example, Allison, 1984; Bush and Gordon, 1982; Gil and Bogart, 1982) and outline concerns expressed by the children themselves. These concerns should not be overlooked and foster care providers as well as case workers need to be encouraged to incorporate childrens' views in the various planning procedures developed to resolve the child's natural family "situation."

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CARING FOR SPECIAL CHILDREN

A large number of children in care have special needs. These needs reflect their life experiences; some have been abused or neglected, while others, by accident of birth or injury, have been handicapped in some way. Many have been emotionally rather than physically handicapped by life situations beyond their control. Still others - the teens - need temporary havens while they attain maturity. And for many, straightened economic circumstances have created family breakdown and crisis which challenge the coping abilities of adults and consequently leave their children disturbed and distressed.

General Themes

Perhaps the most significant trend in providing care for special children is the move towards special foster care as a treatment resource. Although originally developed as an alternative for disturbed and handicapped children, adaptations of the model, like those described by such authors as Hazel (1981, 1982, and 1980) and Sisto (1985), have made it a viable resource for some adolescents.

According to Bryant (1981, 8) special foster care developed partially because of the deinstitutionalization movement of the last several decades but also as a response to demands for more family-oriented, community-based programs. As such, it represents a synthesis of the traditional foster home and certain elements of treatment-centred institutions. Of note is the role of the foster parent, since such parents are beginning to assume the mantles of professional care-givers, in that they play a role in treatment. The treatment is provided in the home in what the literature calls "non-restrictive" settings that are meant to duplicate, as much as possible, a normal healthy home environment. Bryant (1981) has written a very thorough review of the development of special foster care which includes a discussion of the arguments advanced to support the SFC model as well as a description of a variety of programs, some of which began as early as the 1950s.

Another theme which surfaced in this literature reflects a growing recognition that even special foster care is not a viable alternative for many children. This is especially true for adolescents and the section of this chapter which reviews programming for teens includes a discussion of the other options currently being explored by those responsible for their care. Similarly, native children require more careful consideration and there are growing indications that such children are better cared for in extended or tribal family settings.

Also of note in the literature specific to caring for special children is the recognition that the system itself is potentially as destructive as any family situation from which such children have been rescued. Since such "abuses" have a number of legal ramifications for both foster parents and social workers, they are worth consideration.

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Emotionally Disturbed and Handicapped Children

Bryant (1981, 14) writes that the Astor Home, a residential treatment centre in Rhinebeck, New York, began a specialized foster care program for disturbed children as early as 1953. Mora (1975) and Naughton (1975) describe certain features of this program. Other beginnings include a project started in Chicago in 1952 (Wildy, 1975) which recruited "special families" and one developed in Baltimore in the early 1950's (Waskowitz, 1975 and Gray, 1975) which also sought to place disturbed children in special foster care. These early efforts are still being duplicated and the rationale which originally directed such programs has not changed significantly in the last 30 years.

There are many programs for emotionally disturbed children which are still being developed. Time and space do not allow a thorough review of all of them; we have attempted to highlight only some of the apparently more successful and consequently urge our readers to carefully examine the documents cited in the accompanying references to see more of the specific detail, rationale and respective merits of these various models.

Larson, Allison and Johnston (1978) outline various components of the Alberta Parent Counselors Program which began operation in Calgary and Edmonton in 1974. This program served children aged 8 to 16 who had been targetted for institutionalization because they had been described as severely disturbed or delinquent. The "parent counselors" (a term chosen rather than "foster parents" because project staff felt it was more indicative of the professional status assigned) had a number of responsibilities which went beyond the usual provision of nurturance. They were recognized as members of the agency team, paid a salary and given primary responsibility for implementing (and frequently designing) treatment programs for the children in their care. Formal evaluation procedures were introduced in this project and these procedures demonstrated that progress occurred in over half the problem behaviours outlined in treatment plans. Follow-up data indicated that nearly 70 percent of the children continued in permanent situations after leaving the program. This program is described as successfully incorporated into the Alberta provincial child care system.

Several other projects have placed or are placing a major emphasis on the professional foster parent trained and supported to work with disturbed and delinquent children; Hazel (1980, 1981 and 1982), in a series of three articles, describes the Kent Family Placement Project, a five-year experimental project which paid professional fees to families. Evertnam and Brazeau (1984) outline the functioning of the "Treatment Home" model developed by the Children's Aid Society of Metro Toronto in which foster parents with two adolescents under their care might receive as much as $2,000 per month tax free. Lanier and Coffey (1981) describe a Therapeutic Home Program used at the Smokey Mountain Mental Health Centre, where one foster parent becomes an employee of the centre. The Cascade Child Center uses professional "family living parents" who participate in treatment planning in a program modelled, to some extent, after the Kent project and the Alberta project. Tovey (1983, 448) describes this model as "effective" and "efficient" and outlines various advantages as well as a number of side benefits, such as

> ... increased visibility of the program in the community, a stronger connection with the numerous small communities in the center's service area, strong support from local schools, enthusiasm from the Family Living parents themselves, and interest in the program from other child treatment programs in the state.

These projects, in addition to incorporating the concept of the professional foster parent, have also stressed the benefits of small, family-like settings as therapeutic treatments for disturbed children. A number of other projects reflect the general acceptance of this premise. Davis et al (1984) describe a Cluster Home Program developed in Genesee, New York, to provide community-based treatment to emotionally disturbed and behaviourally disordered youth. Currently this program, although still experimental, operates two "clusters" that stress continuity with the community and biological family; they report a "gratifying success rate." Van Den Brink

(1984) outlines a special foster care model developed by Eagle Village, a private, non-profit, non-sectarian residential group care facility, as an after-care component of the program. Results since their 1979 beginning suggest that specialized foster care, as one component in "the continuum of services in residential treatment programs," has a number of advantages. Van Den Brink outlines these advantages and proposes that such specialized care be explored by all agencies involved in residential treatment programs.

The Child Welfare League of America (CWLA, 1975) has developed standards for the foster care of emotionally disturbed children which should be reviewed, as they are the virtual bench mark of all such standards. As well, Bryant (1981, 18) has proposed a generic model for special foster care which is based on "those principles and common programatic features which have appeared consistently in special foster care efforts since the beginning."

The same philosophies and theories which apply to care for disturbed children are informing the literature about special foster care for handicapped children. Recruitment (Coyne, 1978) and training (Dickerson, 1977) receive more individual attention, but the general principle of reimbursement for professional care (Hampson et al, 1978; Freeman, 1978) appears with the same frequency and level of acceptance.

Hampson et al (1978) describe a Special Foster Care Program developed in Virginia which involves a 5-step system designed to maximize effective care delivery to mentally retarded children. The methods developed for determining fee schedules and reimbursement rates are described in great detail and are worth reviewing because of the incentives which encourage foster parents to develop their skills as the "prime professionals in this program." Freeman (1978, 118) outlines a program in Pittsburgh which includes foster parents as part of the staff rather than as independent contractors providing a service to mentally retarded children. They are salaried employees who are "much more involved, work closely with other staff, and are clear about agency resources they need to get their job done."

Arkava and Mueller (1978) describe an Idaho specialized foster care program for disabilities which include physical handicaps, mental retardation and emotional disturbance. In an effort to seek objective data to characterize the services provided in special foster care a survey instrument was designed and administered state-wide. The data collected describe the problems of handicapped children in care and the corresponding activities of the foster parents and are consequently useful for the development of guidelines for selecting foster parents, matching them with children and determining fee schedules.

Munford (1985) describes a foster care system for handicapped children being used in Calgary which she characterizes (8) as "somewhat unique in that services are organized under the auspices of a specialized department." She suggests that services for children cared for by Handicapped Childrens' Services are influenced by two philosophies, one that of "normalisation" and the other that of "inclusive fostering," described earlier in this review. This article also includes the findings of an exploratory study of 30 foster families caring for 71 handicapped children in Calgary.

A recent Canadian development in special care for handicapped children is described by Macdonald (1982). Ceci's Homes for Children in Toronto operate four townhouses located within a large housing co-operative. The six children in each home are severely disabled and yet are described as having been successfully integrated into the community with regular interaction with neighbourhood children. After two years of operation the children supposedly have achieved far more than experts had believed possible.

The care of a handicapped child places certain stresses on foster families, stresses which exist despite adequate salaries or reimbursements. These difficulties are reported by both Hampson et al (1978) and Arkava and Mueller (1978) and appear as well in the literature specific to the care of the emotionally disturbed child. Barsh, Moore and Hamerlynck (1983, 351) describe a Foster Extended Family Model developed in Washington which was "aimed at alleviating isolation among foster families and increasing family support and resources." They outline in some detail the various components of this program and conclude that all participants in their experimental group of six foster families benefitted.

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Teenagers

Adolescents in the foster care system are viewed from several perspectives in the literature. That they are present in ever increasing numbers is well-documented (Hornby and Collins, 1981). These teenagers are in care for a variety of reasons. Many have simply grown up in foster care, neither reunited with their natural families nor freed for adoption. The lucky ones have had only one or two relatively stable placements; the not-so-fortunate have had a number of unsatisfactory stays in a series of foster, group or residential settings.

The second group of adolescents in care are those who have entered care as teenagers, most frequently because of behavioural problems and emotional disturbance indicative of family breakdown and conflict. Many have been "thrown away" by natural parents who have signified that they are unable to "handle" some aspect of their child's behaviour. For such teenagers the state is a "parent of last resort" (Hornby and Collins, 1981).

There is a third group of adolescents in care in some jurisdictions - those who have been "diverted" from the criminal justice system to the child welfare system. Time did not allow a thorough review or discussion of these diversionary schemes; however, interested readers are referred to Sarri (1983) who provides an excellent overview, as does Morris (1978). Driedger (1978) has written an interesting account of the early Saskatchewan diversionary programs and the famous Children's Panels, established in Scotland to replace juvenile courts, are described by Bruce and Spencer (1976).

Regardless of their reasons for entering care, teenagers clearly have different needs while in care. Adoption is not an option for many, because of their age or their past history; foster care is difficult because most teenagers do not easily accept new parents or the authority they represent (even where foster parents can be recruited to accept an adolescent characterized as "delinquent," or "acting out"). Reunification with the natural family is often impossible, especially in the case of "throw away" children.

There are very few studies which profile teenagers in care. One of the best is that conducted by Hornby and Collins (1981) in the state of Maine. In this study the authors examine a number of factors: their numbers (56 percent of the total child-in-care population in 1980, with 22 percent first entering care at the age of 13), their reasons for entering care, their placement experiences, and their permanency plans. Their data confirmed the impressions of many, that teenagers have more placements, stay in placements for shorter periods of time, initiate more placements and are more difficult to place. Many social workers interviewed in this study suggested that foster care is not the best option for such children. The authors (19) raised two issues which they felt are in desperate need of further study: "how can we divert some teenagers from state custody altogether, yet provide them the support needed to alleviate the problems for which they are being referred?" and "what permanency options other than return home and adoption can be given increased credibility as options for teenagers?"

A second significant study is that conducted by Rosenblum in Ontario, through three Children's Aid Societies. During the various aspects of a study that took more than five years, 219 foster parent interviews were completed, as well as 210 interviews with the adolescents who had been in their homes. In addition, social workers, case files and agency records were consulted. The published reports (1977 and 1980) contain all of the instruments used and a very thorough analysis of the findings of the studies.

In the 1977 report, **Foster Homes and Adolescents**, respondents' suggestions for improvements in the foster care system were included. As well, attention was given to the role of financial incentives, the agencies, programs, and friendship patterns between foster parents. The levels of functioning and attitudes of the teenagers are also described. The second report, **A Second Look at Foster Homes and Adolescents** (1980), reports on "characteristics of the adolescents, natural parents' situation including the high incidence of marital breakdown and some indication of social workers' lack of awareness of the economic circumstances of these families." (mimeo, publication announcement) Other materials are included, such as information about lengthy placements, educational aspirations and foster parents' participation in fostering-related activities.

From the literature reviewed, in a process that barely skimmed the surface of the wide body of available material, it is apparent that there are currently five alternative options to institutional care for teenagers in today's child care systems: group homes, special foster care, permanent foster care, day treatment or after school care and independent living programs. Some of the highlights of these programs are briefly described below.

1. Group Homes

The boundaries between traditional group homes and professional foster parenting schemes described earlier in this report are becoming increasingly fuzzy. In a major study of group care in North America conducted by Mayer, Richman and Balcerzak (1977), group homes were distinguished from professional foster homes by the fact that "no matter what changes or upheavals there are in staff, the children can remain in the home" (52), which admittedly may be an ideal that is frequently not met. Their review examined practice in residential treatment centres and group home programs and was very comprehensive. They describe three categories of group homes: family group homes, peer group homes and group residences and their working definitions should be reviewed. Although their study made little specific reference to the teenager, they did provide a very thorough analysis of the normal child in group care in which they pointed out (70) that "most normal adolescents who need foster care will do better in group care." They suggested the peer group home or the group residence as preferred placements, although the propriety of these would obviously depend on the age and maturity of the child.

Part of the trend reported in all of the materials about group care which we reviewed, including the descriptions of many of the programs developed for special needs children, is that of placing group homes in residential communities, with children encouraged to attend local schools and churches and to participate as much as possible in neighbourhood community life. Taylor et al (1976) have written a very thorough review of a group home for adolescent girls located in a stable middle-class residential area in Philadelphia. They provide a description of the treatment components of the home's program, but their review is particularly noteworthy because of the "evaluation methodology" developed for the project. Several scales were devised to rate the girls on a number of social variables: job or school adequacy, adjustment to general daily living, peer relationships - female, peer relationships - male, and self-attitude.

Walsh and Rosen (1979, 116) describe a comprehensive treatment package for disturbed adolescents that has a variety of components, several of which are based on group care. The Adolescent Treatment Complex they outline has an Adolescent Day Program (a socialization training and therapeutic day program), Community Living Education Aiding Teens (CLEAT - a family-style behaviour modification community residence in a residential suburb) and the Co-op (a cooperative apartment cluster). In addition, there is an inpatient ward and the Woodward Day School, a comprehensive academic and vocational program, located near the hospital. This network of resources is carefully integrated so as to provide selective multitreatment approaches for adolescents in care as well as supportive deinstitutionalization steps. Walsh and Rosen report that many of the programs and procedures have been successfully used elsewhere. The CLEAT Program is described in even more detail by Rosen, Peterson and Walsh (1980).

Many of the group care models to which we found reference are family-centred. Finkelstein (1980) describes a model used in the Parsons Centre in Albany, New York which is fairly typical. Krona (1980) also describes a program which uses parents as treatment partners in Port Angeles, Washington. "Weekend Only" models of group care (such as that described by Astrachan and Harris, 1983) also involve the natural parents as do some of the day treatment models. Velasquez and Lyle (1985) discuss day versus residential treatment for juvenile offenders, again stressing the family systems approach to casework. The various aspects of working with natural parents are described more fully in a later section of this review.

2. Special Foster Care

Many of the programs already described in the section of this chapter specific to emotionally disturbed and handicapped children (for example, Larson et al, Hazel, Davis et al, Van Den Brink) were in fact developed for disturbed or delinquent adolescents. Interested readers should review this earlier section.

As a prelude to special foster care, the Toronto Children's Aid Society has developed an Assessment Home Model for adolescents which warrants further examination (Evertnam and Brazeau, 1984). In this program adolescents can be placed and assessed for short-term periods in settings that are comfortable and staffed by qualified professionals. If necessary, adolescents move from the assessment home into the Treatment Homes mentioned earlier.

Another type of special foster care that is unique to adolescents is that of foster homes for teenage mothers and their babies. Sisto (1985) describes a residential program developed by the Children's Aid and Adoption Society of New Jersey which places teenage unwed mothers in homes which care for the mother and child, while at the same time encouraging independence and helping the mother gain the necessary skills (through vocational training, education, etcetera) for such independence. Trained professionals serve as models for healthy parenting behaviour while assessing the mother's capabilities and ensuring that follow-up services (for example, day care) are in place once the mother moves into an independent situation.

3. Permanent Foster Care

Permanent foster care is sometimes cited as the only alternative for certain teenagers in care. This type of care must be carefully planned with a clear recognition that, although return to the natural family is impossible, ties to that family are significant to the teenager. Maluccio and Fein (1985) suggest that workers charged with making these foster care arrangements need to consider certain policies and practice. The teenager, they contend (132), needs a sense of security and permanency within the foster family, such as can be created with some type of legal guardianship or custodianship. Careful work with the natural parents, the foster parents and the teenagers themselves is necessary to help the adolescent deal with "confusion, ambivalence toward the parents, and conflict in loyalties."

The foster parent who accepts teenagers, either on a temporary or permanent basis, clearly needs special skills and a number of training programs for such parents have been developed. The Foster Parent Training Project at Eastern Michigan University has produced a training manual for use in a 10-week course. Loppnow (1978), in his Introduction to this manual, points out that different groups of foster parents have varying concerns and priorities in working with adolescents, but that all share concern about "drugs, truancy and premature sexual experience." The Manual reflects these concerns, with separate sections specific to these areas.

The British Columbia Federation of Foster Parent Associations also includes a section on working with teenagers in the Manual developed for "Working with Special Needs Children." Included are five learning tasks related to drug abuse, young offenders, depression, sexuality, and life skills training.

4. Day Treatment or After School Care

A new treatment alternative for many troubled adolescents maintains the child at home while providing supportive programs on a daily basis to both the natural family and the child. Such programs can be incorporated into the regular academic schedule for some, through special skills teaching in the high schools based on a variety of suggested programming. Time did not allow a thorough exploration of these "skills" modules; however, all of the literature reviewed stressed that for many adolescents a skill rather than "talking therapy" focus is appropriate. Leroy (1982) presents a thorough overview of a variety of social skills training programs that is very helpful, and Hazel et al (1982) and Friedman et al (1982) are also worth reviewing. One model currently receiving a certain amount of interest is the "structured learning" approach described by Goldstein et al (1980).

A second approach, that is somewhat similar, uses after-school day treatment. The Children's Aid Society of Ottawa-Carleton conducted a three-year project entitled **Share the Parenting** which tested the results of such a program for adolescents who would otherwise have been admitted to care. Structured, individualized programs were developed which encouraged parental and family involvement. The success of the program, which began as a Health and Welfare Canada Demonstration project has led to its being incorporated into the Society's operations on a continuing basis. A number of articles about this project are currently in press and not available for review at this time. The variety of programs described by Cameron and Rothery (1985), Canadian Sociotelic Ltd. (1983) and Rothery and Cameron (1985) includes many examples of this approach to adolescent care which should also be reviewed.

5. Independent Living Programs

In recent years an interesting variety of independent living models have been developed in recognition of the fact that youths about to leave care need preparation for that independence, as well as support services in the after-care period. Maluccio and Fein (1985, 132) describe this as a "continuum of care" and outline some of the components of such a continuum:

> (a) a stable living situation; (b) an educational/vocational experience; (c) opportunities to learn how to manage money, run a household, and use community resources; (d) opportunities to learn from errors, failures and successes; and (e) a place to return to whenever needed.

They go on to suggest that a number of different models have been developed, although they do not include any detail about these schemes.

One of the earliest projects to which we found reference was the Independent Living Subsidy Program established in Oregon in 1973. Rowe (1983, 29) describes it as being designed "to help troubled adolescents make the transition to full self-sufficiency through monthly subsidy payments and continued supervision by a social worker." Maluccio and Fein (1985) make reference to this program and it is described in more detail by Anderson and Simonitch (1981) and Simonitch and Anderson (1979).

Rowe also (1983) describes Project Bridge, a pilot project underway in Washington, D.C., which pairs adolescents nearing emancipation with trained counsellors or adult orphans who have successfully made the transition. These volunteers "serve as role models and surrogate parents for the emancipated adolescent, offering support and friendship, as well as guidance and assistance in such areas as locating housing, employment and loan opportunities" (Rowe, 1983, 28). This friendship continues for several years, until the adolescent is firmly established. Rowe suggests that adolescents who have left care are often reluctant to return to their child welfare agency for help and that a program such as this, which uses community-based volunteers who themselves are products of the child welfare system, reduces the need for social workers to be involved with the many adolescents leaving care. This project is to be replicated in other states and localities.

Mauzerall (1983) describes the Casey Family Program's Independent Living Project which has several components. The first consists of an 8-week series of group meetings which focus on skill development. An Independent Living Skills workbook was developed and audiovisual equipment is used for role-playing to develop skills in job interviews and with landlords. Strategies about employment applications, renting apartments and budgeting are included in the group discussions. The Workbook, **On Your Way to On Your Own**, was designed for use individually, in groups or in families and according to Mauzerall (1983, 50) includes various sections which deal with such things as self assessment, goal-setting, using community resources and job-seeking.

The second component of the program is the Lemmon Grove Emancipation Home which offers a living situation "halfway" between complete independence and family life. Mauzerall describes the functioning of this home in some detail and includes a helpful discussion of the successes and failures of this approach.

Another model is that developed by the Hope Center for Youth in Houston Texas. This Supervised Apartment Living Program prepares delinquent and/or emotionally disturbed adolescents for independence by placing them in one of two apartment complexes licensed as halfway houses for periods of time that average at about six months. Counsellors live in the complex. Furrh (1983) describes the various components of this program and includes a "skill development outline" of the training activities. During its first five years of operation, 402 adolescents were served by the program, with approximately 70 percent of them moving into approved independent living after their stay in the complex. Furrh (1983, 61) reports that a 1979 evaluation concluded that the program "had been well accepted in the community, had successfully met its goals, and could effectively serve as a model community-based treatment alternative."

We found no information on Canadian Independent Living Programs, although the British Columbia Federation of Foster Parent Associations has concerned itself with adolescents discharged from care without adequate transitional support. In a mimeo "A Brief on Post Majority," the Federation presented several case studies, reviewed provincial and state programs existing in North America and made a series of recommendations which included training as well as financial components. As well, the Federation included a recommendation that "extended foster care" be available for some adolescents, an extended foster care that would be similar to the care provided by the natural families of most teenagers.

This brief review of programming for adolescents represents little more than the proverbial "drop in the bucket." Time did not allow a more thorough search or evaluation of the many materials appearing in the justice, health, education or psychology fields. We did not attempt to evaluate treatment approaches, skill development training programs or any of the vast array of assessment tools. There are, though, some clear directions for adolescent care that did emerge in the materials we were able to review that are worth highlighting. There seems to be general agreement that adolescents need special care and that this care is best provided in group rather than in individual fostering situations. There seems to be general agreement that many adolescents, even those characterized as disturbed or delinquent, benefit from skill focused treatment rather than talking therapies. There is a clear focus on the families, in recognition of the fact that few teenagers will move into adoptive or successful fostering situations. This family work ranges from respite or "cooling off" arrangements, through after school programming to residential treatment centres that might bring the entire family in for a weekend. There is a great emphasis on a "continuum of services" for adolescents leaving care.

One suggestion which warrants special attention is that made by Tonkin (1985) who recommends that services to adolescents be organized around adolescent health models, which emphasize a developmental approach introduced at the community level. He suggests that a similar approach could be used for adolescent welfare services. He describes (98-99) the adolescent health model as a program which:

> ...tries to foster a preventive element in designated areas such as substance abuse, eating disorders, pregnancy, and venereal disease. In general, the emphasis ... is the need for adolescents to develop understanding of and responsibility for their own health. Parents, parent substitutes, and the school system are seen as supportive to the adolescent but not central to the client-provider relationship. This approach is reflected in the style ... and in the ways in which they recognize the adolescents' rights with respect to confidentiality and consent. At the same time, most programmes ... recognize the central role that family and school play and attempt to support these systems ....

This model is the basis for many of the services provided by "The Door," a New York program which has had a certain amount of success. Personnel from this agency have had ongoing contact with Regina's Rainbow Youth Centre, which is to a large extent modeled after the above.

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Abused Children

The child who has been abused, either physically or sexually, presents a unique challenge to the child welfare system. Not only does the system have to respond to the very special needs of such children, it also has to insure that their admission to care is handled very carefully, because of the legal actions that frequently result from such cases. The literature reflects these two concerns, with a variety of approaches for the care of the child described, as well as an entire body of material that relates to definitions, protocols, investigations and intake procedures.

Discussions about what constitutes abuse have been prevalent in the child welfare literature for a number of years. We did not review this literature because of time constraints, but Giovannoni and Becerra (1979) present a useful starting point for interested readers, as do the many articles published in the journal **Child Abuse and Neglect**. Sevcik (1984) also provides a useful summary of the major themes appearing in this literature.

Rather than focus on abuse, as defined in this large body of material, we prefer to highlight two new dimensions currently attracting increased attention from researchers concerned about definitions. The first dimension reflects a growing sensitivity to ethnic and cultural perspectives. We found that a number of authors are addressing the misunderstandings that can arise because a dominant culture has conceptions about acceptable childrearing practices and parenting standards that unduly influence child welfare policy and practice. Gray and Cosgrove (1985) outline some of these difficulties in an article that describes a study of childrearing practices in six minority groups. Korbin (1980, 1981) and Lauderdale, Valiunas and Anderson (1980) should also be reviewed and a chapter entitled "Cross Cultural Counselling" in Falconer and Swift (1983) is useful.

The second dimension relates to the abuse of the adolescent. Hoekstra (1984, 285) suggests that, "unlike the abuse and neglect of young children ... the problem of adolescent mistreatment continues to elude sorely needed attention." She goes on to point out that abused adolescents "act out," covering physical and emotional hurts with either "aggressiveness or withdrawal." Garbarino (1980, 124) reports that there is a "strong relationship between the mistreatment of children and delinquent behavior" and that many adolescents, who run away from home to avoid abusive treatment, end up in conflict with the law because of prostitution, drug use or vagrancy. Again, we did not review this literature thoroughly, but suggest that the reader who wishes further insight consult any or all of the materials written or edited by Garbarino as a starting point to understanding new developments in this field.

In addition to the concern about the definition of abuse there is an interest in describing the extent of the problem. This too is the subject of a large body of literature which we did not review, although a number of Canadian titles which came to our attention are worth mentioning. The Report of the Committee on Sexual Offences Against Children and Youths (1984), Robertshaw's discussion paper (1981), Stolk (1972), Hepworth (1985) and Bagley (1985) are particularly useful. A bibliography edited by Carriere et al (1985) provides a good starting point for the reader interested in the abuse of the native child, as does Johnston (1983). The 1975 CCSD report on services to battered or abused children is also helpful, although a little dated.

The abused child who comes into care has a number of special needs. There is some reflection of this in the foster parent training literature (see for example BCFFPA, 1985 and McFadden, 1978). Surprisingly little appears elsewhere in the child welfare literature, although a thorough search of the psychological and psychiatric literature would probably bring a substantial body of work to light. Within the child welfare literature, Faller (1981) presents a number of approaches, but the bulk of relevant material falls within the descriptions of programming for emotionally disturbed and other special needs children. (This material was reviewed earlier in this report.) There is some consensus that a multidisciplinary team approach is useful (see, for example, Mouzakitis and Goldstein, 1985) and various suggestions about parent/child placement (see Nayman and Witkin, 1978) or shared parenting (Gabinet, 1983), not dissimilar to the placements for teenage mothers and their babies described by Sisto (1985).

Most of the material which we examined relates more to the child welfare system itself, rather than to foster placements. There is clearly a growing recognition that the system can be abusive (see Bolton, Laner and Gai, 1981; Fox, 1984; Rindfleisch and Rabb, 1984; Shaughnessy, 1984; and Dawson, n.d.). With this recognition has come protocols for "in house" investigations (see, for example, Cavara and Ogren, 1983) as well as manuals for training foster parents about appropriate and inappropriate discipline (Ryan, 1984 and McFadden, 1984). Concurrent with this is a greater awareness of the possibilities for prevention of abuse, with new attention being given to systems which identify "at risk" children (Runyan et al, 1982) and initiate work with the families of such children at an early stage (for example, Ishisaka, 1978; Szykula and Fleischman, 1985).

A number of legal issues surface in this literature which warrant attention. The most obvious relate to liability for failure to provide protection, a "failure" that might occur because a child is left with abusive natural parents, returned to abusive natural parents or inadvertently placed with abusive foster parents. In either of these instances, if death or injury occurs, the child has not been adequately protected and the worker, supervisor or agency might be deemed liable. For this reason, there is a substantial literature emerging that focuses on protocols for investigation, assessment and intake. Holden and Hayes (1984) present a collection of pieces which are particularly helpful, as do Bala, Lilles and Thomson (1982) and Besharov (1985). Another area of interest encompasses the question of childrens' rights, with some authors (for example, Fox, 1984, 324) arguing that "the only true protection for children is empowerment." Bala et al also raise some of these issues, as do Vardin and Brody (1979) and Mearig (1982). McDougall (1985) presents an interesting summary and evaluation in the Canadian context.

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Native Children

That native children are disproportionately represented in the substitute care programs of Canadian child welfare services is a well-documented fact (Hepworth, 1980 and Johnston, 1983). There are a number of explanations generally cited to account for this phenomenon. These explanations range from pointing to the obvious socio-economic factors which can contribute to child neglect in any culture to more wide-reaching discussions that encompass colonialism and genocide. Some authors (Hudson and McKenzie, 1981, 65) even suggest that "the child welfare system has been, and continues to be, involved as an agent in the colonization of native peoples." It is not our intent here to review these arguments, despite the obvious temptation to do so. This issue is much too complex and important to warrant the surface treatment prescribed by this type of review. Interested readers are referred to McKenzie and Hudson (1985) and Johnston (1983), who provide useful summaries of the more commonly advanced explanations.

If there is a point to be made in such a brief discussion of the native child in care, it is the very obvious one that the native child should not be there. This point is being made by more and more native leaders who assert, as does Chief Angus McLean (Stalwick, **What Was Said?**, 1986, 131) in the following passage, that:

> ... we are taking our children back. Our children are human beings and we love them. They are not playthings to be bounced around. They are not commodities to be sold or bargained for. They are human beings. They are our future. They may be big business to you but to us they are what was, what is, and what will be. Our children belong at home with us - they are ours, not yours.

Such leaders insist, with growing conviction and frequency, that native children can best be cared for by their own "tribal families." Even if the natural parent(s) cannot provide adequate care for the child, the extended family - which in native culture is much more broadly defined than in white society - can be strengthened and supported so as to be able to assume that care.

The idea of strengthening and supporting tribal families so as to prevent apprehension of native children is advanced by a number of authors reviewed for this report (Stack, 1983-1984; Blanshard and Barsh, 1980; Ishisaka,1978). All share an understanding of the extended family that is crucial to adequately grasping how such support measures can be successfully incorporated, although Stack (539) points out that "it is far easier to pay rhetorical tribute to extended family groupings than to design policies which respect the functions of kinship networks." This support, whether developed on reserves, as is the case with the Spallumcheen programs described by MacDonald (1985; 1983) and Christian (in Stalwick, **What Was Said?**, 1986), or whether initiated in the cities by such groups as Peyakowak and Anishinaabe, is increasingly identified as the decisive factor which will ultimately reduce the numbers of native children in care.

What does emerge in the recent literature is an absence of "prescriptions" for the care of the native child. Hopefully this is indicative of a new sensitivity - an awareness that the white bureaucrat should "back off" until native communities and leaders establish their own directions. However, Kim Zapf (in Stalwick, **What Was Said?**, 1986, 111) warns that "backing off" isn't always appropriate and suggests that native leaders

> ... be very suspicious when a white bureaucrat backs off. Because, when we back off, it's to regroup and come back to attack again .... We may back off so that we won't be associated with a failure or we may back off in order specifically to allow the failure to

> happen, as we do with our children so that they can see they were wrong and we were right.

Zapf goes on to suggest that a more appropriate role for white bureaucrats is to "stand aside."

> If I respect someone, if I bow down to their expertise, if I want to learn from them, I will stand aside. I won't back off. I won't get in their way, but I'm still there and maybe I'll learn something. For me and my profession, that's the response that I would see and that I would like to encourage.

Some of the new direction and consciousness beginning to inform native child welfare policy is reflected in a series of study guides and analysis-response videotapes developed by the Taking Control Project at the University of Regina. The first volume in this series is now ready, with the rest scheduled for publication over the next several months. These volumes and tapes represent the beginnings arrived at through a participatory research project that included many of those actively involved in native child welfare services. A complete listing of the print and video titles is included with the references.

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THE CHILD WELFARE PROFESSIONAL

It is fairly obvious that the quality of service to children and their families is influenced by the resources, training, knowledge, attitudes and skills of all involved in that service, regardless of the level of involvement. An agency volunteer, an intake worker, a supervisor - each impacts on the child, the family and the community. Consequently, the role of the workers and their supervisors and the system in which both function is increasingly the subject of a fairly substantive literature.

What is emerging is a growing emphasis on training, planning, and job satisfaction, as well as an awareness of the importance of professional competence and accountability. This emphasis reflects not only the concerns of a public which is quick to condemn the worker whose decision places a child in jeopardy, but also the concerns of a profession which must work on a daily basis with the children and families - in times when there are bigger caseloads, reduced budgets and more public scrutiny.

General Themes

Integral to all of the previous discussion of the various types of services for children is the awareness that moving from the theoretical planning stages of child welfare programming to actual casework and clinical practice is a necessary, but not always easy, step. Much of the literature surveyed for the previous sections of this report made some reference to this well-known fact, although not many titles dealt exclusively with this reality. Most of the titles that did review the various impediments to putting theory into practice appeared within the parameters of the permanency planning literature; however, it is reasonable to assume that the difficulties identified by authors in this area are those generally of the child welfare field. Gambrill and Stein (1985, 243), in a useful overview, outline a number of obstacles identified in a variety of permanency planning studies conducted in the last twenty years:

> (a) a lack of procedures for decision-making; (b) deficiencies in in-service training; (c) lack of case plans; (d) limited resources ...; (e) absence of policy specific enough to give staff direction in carrying out day-to-day activities; (f) lack of information systems to allow tracking of children in care; (g) deficits in case review systems ...; (h) restrictive termination statutes that precluded adoption for many children; and (i) federal fiscal incentives that favored out-of-home placement.

They go on to suggest that many of these obstacles have been removed but are careful to point out that, unfortunately, many remain. They do, though, give some attention to possible steps for removing these in a thoughtful discussion that encompasses not only the attitudes, knowledge and skills of both workers and supervisors but also interagency relationships, resources, educational opportunities and provincialism.

Some authors are concerned with the length of time it takes for current knowledge to be incorporated into practice. Jones and Biesecker (1980, 481) suggest that there is "a great lag in the child welfare system between what demonstrably works effectively, and the awareness and use of that knowledge by the child welfare worker in the field." This time lag can be overcome in a number of ways, most obviously by training, introduced as a compulsory package for beginning workers and as on-going in-service training for long-term staff. A variety of such training programs are reviewed later in this chapter.

The role of the social worker receives a considerable amount of attention in the literature from a number of different perspectives. Some authors are specifically concerned with the role of the front-line worker. Fein et al (1984, 353), for example, present a particularly useful overview of what they term the five "clinical roles" considered essential to permanency planning. The five roles "interweave and overlap" and are: (a) the case planning role; (b) the therapeutic role; (c) the case management role; (d) the client advocacy role; and (e) the court witness role. They describe in some detail the different aspects of these roles which they suggest represent "the various ingredients which must be combined by the worker to provide a coherent service to the client."

Such descriptions assume and even argue that the worker can effectively integrate all of these tasks, but there is a significant literature which questions the ability of workers to resolve what many see as the inherent conflict between the investigator/helper roles. Drews (1980) and Hegar (1982) articulately present the two "sides" of a debate that urges either the separation or the integration of the two. Some of the literature on "burnout" (reviewed separately) reflects this controversy, with several authors arguing that the confusion created by the irresolution of this issue is a major contributor to low staff morale, high turnover and burnout. Such authors are not necessarily arguing for a separation of the various tasks but urge rather that the conflict be recognized and that training, support and supervision be in place for front-line workers struggling with these complexities.

Of more recent concern are a variety of legal and ethical issues already referred to in earlier sections of this report. Professional child welfare workers must be increasingly aware that the failure to adequately care for a child could lead to law suits, as could the unjust abrogation of either natural or foster parents' rights. Again, the training literature addresses some of these probabilities, as do more effective management systems which ensure that adequate protocols for investigations are in place as well as more accurate case review and tracking systems.

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Training

Moving into a discussion of the "how-to's" of child welfare training without first considering why this training has assumed a new importance would be easy, but not particularly helpful. There are a number of factors which have contributed to this new focus on training; several, such as low morale, burnout, high turnover, increased public scrutiny and the growing numbers of legal actions, have already been referred to and, indeed, are fairly obvious. Of additional and perhaps greater concern is what Seaberg (1982, 441) describes as a "decline of child welfare training and services." For Seaberg, a major symptom of this decline rests on the fact that, in the USA in 1977, only 16 percent of personnel in public social service agencies serving children had BSW's and only 9 percent had MSW's. He goes on to express reservations about the "paraprofessional movement" and the "declassifying" or "reclassifying" of positions and educational requirements for them. Essentially, Seaberg is suggesting that the child welfare worker no longer has the status such workers had in the 1950s and 60s and that the lowering of professional qualifications standards for beginning workers coupled with reduced budgets for continuing inservice education is to some extent responsible for this. It would be reasonably safe to assume that a similar process is occurring in Canada, although we did not review any material that would support this assumption with any certainty.

Another factor that contributes to the growing importance of training ironically rests on the very system developed to facilitate decision-making and to protect the workers from stress, liability and burnout. The "system," with its potential of de-personalizing the "case," can create situations where the record can become more important than the client. Indeed, many training programs currently in use emphasize agency procedures and the various "how-to's" of record-keeping rather than the "helping" skills more typically associated with social workers relating to clients. This is especially true in those agencies where direct services are not provided - that is, where the worker manages a "case," using outside specialized services for assessment or treatment.

All of these factors can, of course, be countered by adequate training and support. Training programs have been and are being developed for beginning workers, experienced workers and supervisors. Gambrill (1985) provides a good general overview of the necessary components of an effective training program, as does Rycus (1978). These two articles help to set a framework for evaluating some of the more specific training programs described by other authors (for example, Rosick, 1979 and Jones and Biesecker, 1980).

Some of the material reviewed focused entirely on a specific aspect of training; for example Weinbach and Kuehner (1985) were interested primarily in the continuing education aspects of worker training in an article which presented a variety of options (and their advantages and disadvantages) for a continuing education model. Other specialized material related to training for those providing home-based services (Pecora et al, 1985) or services to emotionally disturbed or handicapped children (Kagan, 1983). Some authors are concerned with training as it relates to a specific practice approach; for example Cohen and Westhues are currently exploring the effects of training on a systems-based approach to practice, using two experimental settings and two comparison settings in Children's Aid Societies in southern Ontario.

Within Canada, Ontario appears to be leading the way in the development of training materials for front-line workers. In addition to the Cohen and Westhues study, the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services has developed a four-volume **Training Program for Children's Aid Societies** and the Ontario Association for Children's Aid Societies has developed a comprehensive **Child Welfare Orientation Manual.** As well, the Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto, in an attempt to come to grips with burnout, has emphasized the importance of early training and developed a team-training program for beginning workers (Falconer and Hornick, 1983).

There is a surprising amount of material on "decision-making," with several authors arguing that effective training in how to make decisions is urgently needed in the child welfare field. Mech (26), for example, as early as 1970 pointed out that

> Too often decision in child placement is made without full exploration of alternatives; decision as to placement of choice is

> made after a decision to place has been made by some other official or agency; decision to remove from foster care is made without adequate analysis of the conditions that caused the placement.

He went on to outline (33-34) the various decision points in foster care but admitted that his assessment "failed to produce guidelines that were either consistent or fair." Mech also asserted that "there is virtually no indication that the field is working toward a differential theory of child care as a springboard for decision" and perhaps the continuing concern with decision-making is an indication that Mech's early premise is still valid. This on-going concern is reflected in a number of "how-to" decision-making manuals for both workers (for example, Stein and Rzepnicki, 1983) and supervisors (for example, Gambrill and Stein, 1983). As well, there are more general manuals such as that produced by Stein and Gambrill (1976).

One last area which warrants mention is that relating to special training for workers who will be working with native families. Leadership in the development of training materials, as in so many other areas of native child welfare, is beginning to emerge in the native community. We examined a set of five manuals prepared by the Northwest Indian Child Welfare Institute in Portland, Oregon. These manuals are designed as a model curriculum for Indian child welfare practice and as such represent a significant beginning. They reflect many of the issues raised earlier in this report and indeed, are viewed as so important, that they are currently being critiqued by various participants in the University of Regina's Taking Control Project. These critiques are focusing on a "cultural content analysis" that will be used to make these volumes more relevant to native cultural traditions and experiences within the realities of the Canadian context.

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Burnout

There is a fairly extensive literature on burnout in the social services and a substantial portion of it is specific to the child welfare worker (for example, MacFadden, 1982; Mattingly, 1977; Freudenberger, 1977). Definitions and descriptions of various symptoms and stages of the process are offered by nearly every author and consequently needn't be repeated here. Nor do we need to repeat the observations of those authors who outline the arguments focused on the need to prevent burnout; it is fairly obvious that burnout is costly and that it has negative effects on clients.

The prescriptions for prevention of burnout are much more important. Littner's early work (1957) suggested that the unique stresses faced by child care workers "focused on the client role" (Barrett and McKelvey, 1980); however, "more recent literature tends to focus on organizational issues and personal stresses on the worker" (Barrett and McKelvey, 1980, 277). These types of stress can be reduced and several authors we reviewed described strategies that are potentially effective. Daley (1979, 449), for example, outlines a number of organizational and supervisory strategies which include "improving training, regulating caseload size and difficulty, developing career ladders in direct service and improving upward communication from direct service staff." He also includes "making time outs available, facilitating peer support, using supportive techniques, providing feedback on performance, and assigning jobs wisely" in his list of strategies. A study conducted in Michigan (Gillespie and Cohen, 1984, 123) also suggests that burnout can be ameliorated with administrative tactics that include the following:

> Supervisors need to learn that failure to provide time for consultation, as well as failure to recognize performance, may have negative effects on the worker's interaction with clients. Training and treatment are complementary and need to be seen as an integral part of a worker's job. Agencies need to provide on-going training sessions to help workers receive the guidance, consultation, and support that ultimately result in more energy and creativity devoted to work.

In addition to organizational and supervisory strategies which can support and guide the child welfare worker, training is also viewed by many as an integral component in the prevention of burnout. Shannon and Saleebey (1980) describe a program that teaches workers how to recognize and respond to the problems that lead to burnout; this program "does not deal with organizational sources of stress" but focuses rather on individual programs.

Falconer and Hornick (1983) outline a training program developed by the Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto to prevent burnout. Essentially, this program focused on early training which would place "five new workers on a team with an experienced supervisor for six months" during which time "intensive and integrated training and supervision" would be provided. Unfortunately, the demonstration and research, although funded by Health and Welfare Canada, was terminated because of a hiring freeze in the agency. The conclusions of this study are therefore based only on early findings.

Another useful strategy for the prevention of burnout is to initiate interview and selection procedures that ensure that the workers hired are potentially the best for the job. Mufson (1986), for example, suggests that the California Psychological Inventory can be an effective tool for selecting the best child care workers for adolescents. In a similar vein, Ross and Hoeltke (1985) describe an interview model developed to select residential child care workers which provides, in their estimation, an effective predictor of success. Surprisingly, with the exception of these two studies, there was very little about worker selection that emerged from our search of the child welfare literature. This might be either an indicator that this is an as yet unexplored area or, more probably, an indicator that most of these kinds of studies are being reported in the literature outside the scope of this review.

Similarly, there was little specific to job satisfaction with the exception of Kreuger (1985, 17) who described ten variables "which were found to account for job satisfaction and organizational commitment in a recent national study of child and youth care workers." However, there is little doubt that this area also needs further study, if child welfare agencies wish to improve the quality of services to clients.

There has been some work done in the development of "burnout inventories." Maslach and Jackson (1981) have pioneered one such inventory. We did not examine any of this literature but suggest that it might warrant further investigation, especially since all of Maslach's work has been conducted in human service settings.

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Organization of Services

A review of this type cannot begin to do justice to the wealth of materials appearing on how services to children should be organized. Our purpose, therefore, is to highlight some of the trends in service delivery and perhaps provide direction to those about to venture into this challenging area.

Much of the literature, of course, has been heavily influenced by the general acceptance of the permanency planning model and many of the permanency planning projects already described are in fact service delivery systems. As well, many of the case review procedures and protocols for investigation, record-keeping, etcetera, which were referenced earlier in this report are integral components of such systems.

Traditionally, child welfare services and their delivery models have been structured to address the needs of children perceived to be in need of "rescue." Consequently, most services are designed to provide a variety of "substitute" care arrangements and services are generally provided only when the family has failed. Most of the programs already described in this report reflect this focus in that most have been structured to meet the special needs of children who have come into care because of family failure. Sevcik (1984, 29) calls this a "problem-program alignment" and suggests that such services have been developed in an

> ... incremental and piecemeal fashion. The result is a service delivery structure that is a collection of separately conceived and administered services reflecting a large and diverse number of independent actions by all levels of government.

The effectiveness of this model of delivery is increasingly being questioned and there is now a gradual shift towards what some call an "ecological framework." Sevcik (31) suggests that "the child welfare service structure is in transition. The perception is growing that the aim of the services should be to assist families to cope with everyday life, to help families do their job better." This move towards providing services within the context of the family is probably the most important shift in the organization of child welfare services. There is a large literature which offers a variety of models on which such service provision can be based (for example, Sevcik, 1984; Sinanoglu and Maluccio, 1981; Brown et al, 1982; Maybanks and Bryce, 1979; Bryce and Lloyd, 1981; Garbarino and Stocking, 1979; Germain, 1979). Of special note are the three volumes recently produced by the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services (Cameron and Rothery, 1985; Canadian Sociotelic Ltd., 1983; and Rothery and Cameron, 1985). As well, the Child Welfare League of America has recently (1984) published a revised set of standards for services to families at home.

Another trend in the organization of child welfare serivces is the increasing use of computer technology as a support for decision making. Many of the systems currently in use reflect the recognition of the necessity of keeping track of children in care and are a side-effect of the permanency planning models developed in recent years. However, technology has moved beyond providing a merely "counting" or "listing" capacity and several authors describe other applications. Shulman (1985), for example, describes a computer simulation model being developed in British Columbia to study the dynamics of child welfare as revealed in the relationships and interaction between workers and clients. Cohen and Westhues (n.d.) outline a systems-based approach for placing children in adoptive and foster homes being developed in Toronto. Schoech and Schkade (1980) describe a computer-based decision-support system for caseworkers developed in Texas and Poertner and Rapp (1980) describe a computer-based case review system developed in Illinois and the process by which it came into use. Fanshel's work (1982) has already been mentioned, as has the decision support model described by Schwab et al (1983).

A disappointing gap in the literature relates to what might be called "macro" systems. There are prescriptions for small agency design (see, for example, Sisto, 1980) and even plans for overall coordination and management of a particular service (see, for example, Osborn's description of Child Abuse Services in San Mateo, 1981). We did not, however, find any literature that provided comprehensive reviews or prescriptions for the entire system, although some of the "ecological frameworks" for practice touch upon these issues, as do a number of the permanency planning materials. Again, the search may have been too exclusively limited to the child welfare field and there might well be a body of literature which did not come within the purview of this report.

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Evaluation of Services

Up to this point in the review there has been little or no specific reference to program evaluation. This is not meant to suggest that such evaluations are not important. In fact, most of the successful programs which have been described do have an evaluation component and the literature already cited, in many instances, includes references to these evaluations. A variety of arguments can be advanced to highlight the importance of evaluations, but it is not our intention here to review this literature. Nor will we enter the debate about the relative merits about internal versus external evaluations. Such discussions are more appropriately described elsewhere.

There are, though, two studies which should be mentioned at this point. Their strength lies in the fact that they are not specific to any program and might therefore be adapted as self-assessment measures for a variety of services. The first, a **Local Child Welfare Services Self-Assessment Manual**, is described by Sundel et al (1980). Theoretically, this manual provides seven self-assessment instruments which cover Emergency/ Protective Services, Intake/Service Choice, In-Home Services, Foster Family Care, Adoption, Residential/Group Care and Case Management/Administration. Each section comes in checklist format and has accompanying resource materials and bibliographies.

Coombes et al (1980) describe a "Protection Index" developed to measure the impact of services delivered in Texas. The authors report (105) that this index is "designed to measure change in an abused or neglected child's condition from the time of the intial investigation of the allegation to subsequent stages in the case" and argue that the indices developed by this project have a number of applications.

Undoubtedly, there is a much larger literature specific to the child welfare field which was not discovered or reviewed for this report. Interested readers will need to "dig" more deeply than the time limits of this review have allowed.

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Specific Practice Tools

This brief section is included almost as an "additional material" component. There was no specific focus on the literature in this area; however, a number of titles did surface and we are therefore including here a listing of materials we inadvertently discovered. Other relevant materials can be found in the training and burnout literature, as well as in other sections of this review.

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Videotape One:	**What Was Said?**
Study Guide Two:	**Searching for My Children and Now They Are Home.** (forthcoming)
Videotape Two:	**Searching for My Children.** (forthcoming) **And Now They Are Home.** (forthcoming)
Study Guide Three:	**Preparing Ourselves to Support the Family.** (forthcoming)
Videotape Three:	**Preparing Ourselves to Support the Family.** (forthcoming) **The Enduring Family.** (forthcoming)
Study Guide Four:	**Adoption: Where Does It Lead?** (forthcoming)
Videotape Four:	**Adoption: Where Does It Lead?** (forthcoming)
Study Guide Five:	**Caring Alternatives: The Peyakowak Story.** (forthcoming)
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Study Guide Six: **Community Development: Our Own Way.** (forthcoming)
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Appendix II - Listing of Supplementary Audio-Visual Materials

"Conversations With Foster Parents" Series

British Columbia Ministry of Human Resources

The Child Arrives - 1983

The Child Settles In - 1983

Placement Concerns - 1983

Visiting With Natural Parents - 1983

"Guiding the Sexual Development of Your Child" Series

British Columbia Federation of Foster Parent Associations

Prevention of Sexual Abuse - 1983

Puberty and Adolescence - 1983

Sexually Abused Children - 1983

Children and Sexuality - 1983

Answering Children's Questions About Sex - 1983

"Special Needs Adoption" Series

British Columbia Ministry of Human Resources

The Use of Neurolinguistics, Claudia Jewett - 1981

Writing a Home Study - 1981

Preparing Children to Move, Claudia Jewett - 1981

Assessing Families, Claudia Jewett - 1981

Matching Families and Children - 1981

"Drugs, Your Child and You" Series

British Columbia Federation of Foster Parent Associations

Myths and Realities - 1984

What's a Parent To Do? - 1984

"Responding to Problem Behaviours of Foster Children" Series

Knowledge Network, in cooperation with the
British Columbia Federation of Foster Parent Associations

Behaviours in Reaction to Separation - 1982

Changing Behaviours Through Communication - 1982

Pre-Teens (Age 6-12) - 1982

Teenagers - 1982

Handicapped Children - 1982

Effects of Separation - 1982

Demonstration of Strategies for Change: A Review of Indian and Native Social Work Education in Canada
(With Study Guides)

Social Administration Research Unit, University of Regina

I. **What Was Said? - 1986**

II. (i) **Searching for My Children** (forthcoming)
    (ii) **And Now They Are Home** (forthcoming)

III. (i) **Preparing Ourselves to Support the Family** (forthcoming)
    (ii) **The Enduring Family** (forthcoming)

IV. **Adoption: Where Does It Lead?** (forthcoming)

V. (i) **Caring Alternatives: The Peyakowak Story** (forthcoming)
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VI. **Community Development: Our Own Way** (forthcoming)